

Message Text

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ORIGIN PM-03

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TO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

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S E C R E T STATE 265622

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: INCLUSION OF AIR MANPOWER IN COMMON
CEILING

REF: (A) STATE 263866; (B) USNATO 6658; (C) STATE 263842

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1. THE USG RECENTLY TABLED IN THE SPC A DETAILED PAPER

SUPPORTING OUR PROPOSAL TO INCLUDE AIR MANPOWER IN THE COMMON CEILING (REF A). WE HOPE THE ARGUMENTS IN THAT PAPER WILL ALLAY THE CONCERNS OF OUR ALLIES ON THE ISSUE AND SPEED APPROVAL OF INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE NAC TO THE AHG. WHILE WE WOULD LIKE TO HAVE INSTRUCTION APPROVED FOR USE AT LAST (DECEMBER 10) INFORMAL SESSION OF THIS NEGOTIATING ROUND, THIS MAY BE UNREALISTIC. NEVERTHELESS, SUCH AUTHORIZATION WOULD BE EQUALLY USEFUL WHEN THE TALKS RESUME IN JANUARY. THUS WE WOULD LIKE TO PRESS FOR EARLIEST APPROVAL.

2. WE BELIEVE POLITICAL APPROACHES IN BONN AND LONDON MIGHT ASSIST US IN BRINGING ABOUT SUCH MOVEMENT. ACTION ADDRESSEES SHOULD, THEREFORE, CALL ON APPROPRIATE OFFICIALS IN THE FOREIGN MINISTRIES AS SOON AS POSSIBLE DRAWING ON THE POINTS BELOW AND, AS APPROPRIATE, THE ARGUMENTS IN REF A.

3. FOR LONDON: WE NOTE REPORT (REF B) THAT UK CAN NOW ACCEPT PRINCIPLE OF US PROPOSAL AND THEREFORE, EMBASSY MIGHT WISH TO STRESS TIMING ASPECT WITH BRITISH.

4. FOLLOWING ARE OUR POINTS:

A. THE USG FEELS THAT SOME ALLIED MOVEMENT BEFORE THE COMING BREAK WOULD BE USEFUL TO AVOID THE IMPRESSION OF A STALEMATE AND TO REGAIN THE INITIATIVE FOR THE ALLIES. THE ALLIES HAVE APPARENTLY SUCCEEDED IN PLACING THE EAST ON THE DEFENSIVE ON THE DATA ISSUE, BUT HAVE BEEN LESS SUCCESSFUL WITH RESPECT TO RECATEGORIZATION AND THE LINKAGE ASSURANCES. THE EAST, IN TURN, HAS TABLED AN INITIAL STEP REDUCTION PROPOSAL WHICH, WHILE IT SHOWS ONLY MINIMAL CHANGE IN ITS POSITION, INDICATES THEIR DESIRE TO SLOW MOVEMENT AND FLEXIBILITY. THE EASTERN FORCE FREEZE PROPOSAL SERVES A SIMILAR PURPOSE.

B. DURING THE COMING BREAK THE ALLIES WILL HAVE TO REPORT TO PARLIAMENTS AND WILL NEED TO SHOW THAT SOMETHING IS HAPPENING AFTER MORE THAN A YEAR OF TALKS. FOR OUR PART, AMBASSADOR RESOR WILL PROBABLY HAVE TO TESTIFY BEFORE SEVERAL CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES AND BRIEF ORALLY CERTAIN
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CONGRESSMEN AND SENATORS. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, IT WILL BE IMPORTANT TO BE ABLE TO CONTRAST ALLIED FLEXIBILITY WITH THE MINIMAL, ALBEIT PUBLICIZED, PACT CHANGES.

C. WHILE RECENT EASTERN PRESS LEAKS DO NOT APPEAR TO HAVE SERIOUSLY DAMAGED THE WEST, A NEW ALLIED INITIATIVE WOULD BE USEFUL IF THE EAST DECIDES TO CONTINUE TO USE THE PRESS TO UNDERCUT ALLIED NEGOTIATING EFFORTS.

D. IN REGAINING THE INITIATIVE THE ALLIES SHOULD TRY TO RETAIN THE FOCUS ON BASIC ALLIED GOALS, SUCH AS ASYMMETRICAL GROUND FORCE REDUCTIONS AND THE COMMON CEILING.

E. AS PART OF A TACTIC TO REGAIN THE INITIATIVE AND PLACE THE EAST ON THE DEFENSIVE IT WOULD BE IN THE ALLIES' INTEREST TO FORCE THE SOVIETS TO CONSIDER A SUBSTANTIVE ALLIED PROPOSAL DURING THE CHRISTMAS BREAK. BUT EVEN IF SUCH RAPID PROGRESS IS NOT POSSIBLE BEFORE CHRISTMAS THE ALLIED SHOULD BE PREPARED TO PRESENT THIS PROPOSAL UPON THEIR RETURN TO VIENNA IN JANUARY.

F. FOR THE ABOVE REASONS WE BELIEVE THE ALLIES SHOULD APPROVE AN INSTRUCTION PERMITTING THE AHG TO PROPOSE CONSIDERING INCLUSION OF AIR MANPOWER WITHIN AN OVERALL MANPOWER COMMON CEILING, ON THE CONDITION THAT THE PACT AGREES

TO THE COMMON CEILING CONCEPT, AND WHILE MAKING CLEAR THAT THIS PROPOSAL IS NOT AN OFFER OF AIR MANPOWER REDUCTIONS. THUS THE ALLIED GROUND FORCE FOCUS WOULD REMAIN INTACT, BUT EASTERN ARGUMENTS ABOUT ALLIED FAILURE TO COVER ALL FORCE ELEMENTS WOULD BE ERODED. KISSINGER

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